



Science, Myth, and Otherness: Herpetological Readings of Linnaeus's Lapland Journal

Esteban O. Lavilla

UEL - CONICET/Fundación Miguel Lillo
Miguel Lillo 251, 4000 - San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina
eolavilla@gmail.com

After a turbulent beginning to the 18th century—marked by wars, famine, plague, and foreign invasions—Sweden began a slow process of reconstruction in 1721. The collapse of its imperial ambitions at the Battle of Poltava (1709), combined with a drained treasury and the outflow of precious metals through imports and smuggling, had left the kingdom in a precarious state. It was in this context that Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) emerged, a figure who would not only reshape natural science but also wield considerable influence on Swedish economic policy well into the 1770s (e.g., Andersson, 1956; Roberts, 1986; Kouri & Olsen, 2016).

Linnaeus promoted an innovative idea for the time: to reduce imports by identifying and acclimatizing useful plants from abroad, making them grow in the harsher environments of the Baltic states. The utopian vision of cultivating coffee, tea, or bananas in Sweden gained strong support between the 1740s and 1760s from the court, parliament, universities, academies, and scientific societies. However, after his death, the project fell into disrepute and was eventually forgotten (e.g., Hodacs, 2023; Koerner, 1999; Müller-Wille, 2003; Müller-Wille & Charmantier, 2012).

To achieve this goal, Linnaeus and his select group of students undertook scientific expeditions both in Sweden and across the globe. Their twin objectives were to understand the country's ecology and to collect seeds and plants suitable for cultivation. These journeys also produced a wealth of information on plants, animals, minerals and human societies from all corners of the world, meticulously recorded under Linnaeus's guidance¹. Some of these travel narratives were published soon after the expeditions ended, while others remained in manuscript form until the late 20th or early 21st century². Today, the field notes of Linnaeus's students are available in a nearly complete collection edited by Lars Hansen (2007–2012), but Linnaeus's own travel accounts remain scattered and less accessible.

Between 1732 and 1749, Linnaeus embarked on five major journeys through Sweden³: to Lapland (1732), Dalarna (1734), the Baltic islands of Öland and Gotland (1741), Västergötland⁴ (1746), and Scania (1749). Only the accounts of the last three were published in his lifetime (Linnaeus

1745, 1747, 1751). The earliest of these expeditions—the Lapland journey—was introduced to readers not in Swedish but in English, when James Edward Smith published his translation in 1811, drawing directly from Linnaeus's youthful manuscript (Linnaeus, 1811)⁵. It would take nearly eighty more years before the original text, along with the Dalarna notes⁶, appeared in Swedish, thanks to Ewald Ährling's 1889 edition (Linnaeus, 1889). As Casson observes (Linnaeus 2007: 268), the Dalarna material is not a travel narrative in the usual sense, but rather a dense and technical set of observations on mining and metallurgy, likely compiled for private use rather than public readership.

This article focuses solely on the 1732 Lapland expedition—Linnaeus's first and most iconic journey. It marked the transformation of the student into a field naturalist and left a lasting imprint on his scientific development. The journey was approved by the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala, following a proposal Linnaeus submitted on 15 December 1731 (Old Style calendar⁷), outlining the scientific and economic value of exploring one of Sweden's least known regions. He also described the ideal qualities of the explorer: Swedish, young, healthy, tireless, unattached, single, a naturalist and physician, well-versed in the three kingdoms of nature, knowledgeable in natural history, and a skilled draughtsman. Linnaeus admitted to possessing only eight of these⁸. The content of this article is based on the manuscript of the *Iter Lapponicum* held at the Linnean Society of London (Linnaeus, 1732a, b) and on the transcription prepared by Ährling (Linnaeus, 1889).

The expedition began on 12 May 1732 in Uppsala and ended there on 10 October of the same year. Linnaeus was granted 400 copper dalers for the trip⁹ (a notable reduction from the 600 originally requested¹⁰). Upon his return, he submitted a detailed report dated 9 November¹¹, which included some exaggerations (such as distances traveled) and a fabricated visit to Caituma (entry dated 1 July) (Blunt, 2001; Gourlie, 1953; Koerner, 1999)¹².

This essay compiles and comments on all references to amphibians and reptiles found in the Lapland journal. Though generally brief and incidental, these observations offer insights into local fauna, popular beliefs, and Linnaeus's

early zoological thinking. Each reference includes the date, locality, and page number of the relevant source. Dates are preserved as they appear in the original manuscript and have not been adjusted to the Gregorian calendar adopted by Sweden in 1753.⁷

A – QUAERENDA

Before the diary proper begins, two pages (folios 31–32 in Linnaeus, 1732a) list 76 items to be investigated (*quaerenda*), almost certainly written before Linnaeus departed from Uppsala. An additional 14 queries, recorded during the journey and bound separately on folio 30 at the beginning of the manuscript, complement this list. References to amphibians and reptiles appear in items 1, 26, and 51 of the *quaerenda*:

1. Are there fleas, lice, bedbugs, frogs, snakes, etc., here?
26. Quadrupeds: reindeer, elk, wolves, beavers, foxes, martens, squirrels, ermines, Norwegian mice or lemmings. Are there mice, hares, frogs and snakes, lizards, lynxes? How many? Are there lambs, cows, badgers, horses (smaller?), goats, deer, cats, hedgehogs, wolves, bears, wild boars, moles?
51. Are there water serpents four *alnar*¹³ long in Lake Enara¹⁴, as reported in an Italian book?¹⁵

This initial list—shaped by doubt, curiosity, and rumor—reveals that Linnaeus expected to encounter amphibians and reptiles in Lapland. He not only inquires about their general presence but also notes reports of unusually large aquatic snakes. The near-total absence of such animals in the territory explored thus becomes a meaningful finding, one Linnaeus marks with disappointment in the entry for 7 June (see below). Nevertheless, this empirical void will be filled with images, associations, and accounts that place herpetological creatures at the heart of the young Linnaeus's scientific imagination.

2 June – Lycksele

Regarding the clothing of the people of Lapland, he writes:

“... Their outer tunic¹⁶ is open in front down to the middle of the chest¹⁷, below which part of it is fastened with hooks down to the base of the sternum¹⁸. Consequently, the chest remains bare, and due to the effects of the sun outdoors and the smoke indoors, it is brown in color and has the appearance of toad skin...”.

3 June – Lycksele

Linnaeus is exhausted from traveling through marshy terrain, where the ice has not yet fully melted, and he is unable to find an inhabited dwelling for shelter or food. He stops along the road, lights a fire to warm himself and dry his soaked clothes,

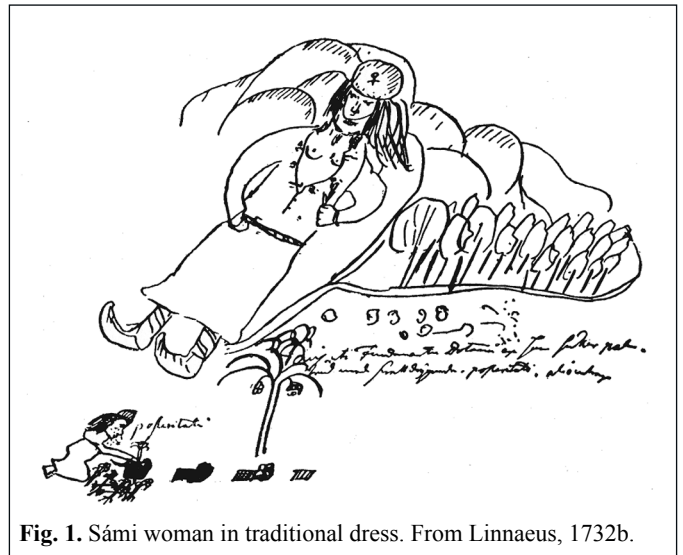


Fig. 1. Sámi woman in traditional dress. From Linnaeus, 1732b.

and sends a Sámi guide to search the region for any nearby settlers. He notes in his journal:

“... I waited for the messenger until two in the afternoon; he returned worn out from fatigue and had searched the huts in vain. With him came a person whom I could not at first tell whether it was a man or a woman; I do not think the poet could have given a better description of a Fury¹⁹, and one might believe she came from the Styx²⁰. She looked rather small; her face was brown and blackened by smoke; her eyes were brown and shining, her eyebrows black, and her pitch-black hair hung from her head, upon which she wore a red, flat cap. Her skirt was grey, and from her chest, which resembled frog skin, hung two long breasts of the same skin, adorned with bronze rings. Around her chest she wore a belt, and on her feet, boots. I was frightened by her first glance...” (Fig. 1).

The descriptions from 2 and 3 June verge on ethnography and horror. In both passages, the body of the Sámi woman²¹ is animalized, dehumanized, associated with the vicious, the dark, and the primitive. Read today, this passage invites a critical reflection on the position of the white European naturalist in relation to the Indigenous peoples of the North: a gaze which, even when disguised as science, exoticizes and eroticizes from a colonial distance²².

7 June – Lycksele

“... In Lapland, fleas are scarce, there are no bedbugs, although lice are plentiful; but there are neither frogs nor snakes...”²³

12 June – Lycksele

Confronted with a flower of striking beauty, Linnaeus compares it to the charms of the virgin Andromeda, including in



Fig. 2. Andromeda: Mythological and real, figurative and represented. From Linnaeus, 1732a.

his diary a drawing that juxtaposes the observed reality (the flower threatened by a salamander or lizard) with the legend (Andromeda threatened by a dragon) (Figs. 2 and 3).

“... *Chamaedaphne* of Buxb.²⁴ or *Erica palustris pendula*, fl: petiolo purpur.²⁵ was at that moment in its greatest splendor, decorating the marshy grounds in the most pleasing manner. The flowers are almost blood-red before opening, but when fully developed, the corolla is flesh-colored. I doubt that the art of any painter could so happily imitate the beauty of a woman’s delicate complexion; much less could any artificial color on a face withstand comparison with this charming flower. As I gazed upon it, I could not help but think of the Andromeda described by the poets²⁶, and the more I reflected on their descriptions, the more applicable they seemed to this little plant before me—so much so that if those poets had seen it, they could hardly have invented a better fable. Andromeda is depicted by them as a virgin of the most exquisite and incomparable charms, but that grace remains in its

perfection only while she preserves her virginal purity (just as happens with this plant), now preparing to celebrate her nuptials. This plant is always fixed to a small grassy mound in the midst of the marshes, just as Andromeda was chained to a rock in the sea that bathed her feet, as freshwater does its roots. Little by little, she becomes surrounded by dragons and venomous creatures—that is, the mischievous toads and frogs that in spring invade the surrounding waters and, when mating, splash water and mud onto her leaves and stems. She, standing like a distressed maiden, sadly bows her head. Thus, she inclines her pink flower heads²⁷, which grow ever paler; the heads fade more and more, which is why I call her Andromeda, with sharp leaves²⁸. As she is entirely flesh-colored, and the neck is exposed, hence the epithet *carneus*²⁹.”

Here, frogs and toads are not objects of zoological inquiry but figures of unbridled desire, contamination, and threat to the virginal integrity of the maiden-flower. This intersection of botany, eroticism, and batrachology—hybrid in both language and reference—foreshadows the allegorical uses Linnaeus would later make in his *Systema Naturae*, where he would also draw on sexual metaphor to describe reproductive functions. The parallel with the passage about his encounter with a Sámi woman cannot be ignored: both are female figures surrounded by, or associated with, amphibian elements. Yet while the mythological maiden-plant is beheld with aesthetic desire, the real woman is viewed with fear and repulsion.

Finally, Linnaeus includes—without expressing any contrary opinion—two comments on local beliefs:

30 May – Lycksele

Just arrived in Lycksele, Linnaeus is received by the Pastor and his wife in a church he describes as miserable. During the Pentecost service, at which only women had attended be-



Fig. 3. Linnaeus’s drawing (Fig. 2) appears to reference engravings from illustrated editions of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* depicting Andromeda’s rescue by Perseus. Two examples with stylistic similarities are in Tournes (1557: 55) (left), and in Posthius (1563: 57) (right).

cause the men were occupied with pike fishing, there was one woman who displayed a peculiar condition:

“... Here there was a woman who groaned because she believed she had frogs in her stomach, since the previous spring she had drunk their eggs. She felt there were three, and both she and those nearby heard them croaking. Her discomfort was somewhat relieved by drinking vodka³⁰. Salt did not kill them. Someone—who a few years before had suffered the same problem—had taken three drams of *nux vomica*³¹, but without success; I advised her to ingest tar, but she had already done so and vomited it up immediately...”

Here, the frog inhabits not the swamp, but the body itself, becoming both a symptom and a symbol of an internal disturbance that evokes the fantastic. Interestingly, Linnaeus adopts a more descriptive than critical stance, recording the belief without explicitly refuting it. Not only does he refrain from ridiculing it, but he even suggests the ingestion of tar as a potential remedy. This curious passage led Smith (Linnaeus, 1811) to develop an extensive footnote, in which he observes that “...Linnaeus writes as if he did not absolutely disbelieve the existence of these frogs, which were as much out of their place as Jonah in the whale’s belly...”.

5 June – Lycksele

Reindeer are a fundamental element in the life of the Sami, and Linnaeus devotes many observations to them in his journal. Regarding their diet, he describes the suffering of these animals when a frost freezes the mountain lichens³² that make up their main winter food. He then remarks on a curious dietary habit:

“...Reindeer³³ also eat toads and snakes, and even lemmings³⁴; they often pursue them so far that they lose their way home, as happened some years ago, when they came down in great numbers from the mountains...”

This claim contradicts the usual image of the reindeer as a herbivore and, quite unexpectedly, connects it to the herpetological food chain. While it may reflect a local belief or a misinterpreted observation, its inclusion in the journal suggests Linnaeus’s interest in the anomalous—what escapes the predictable order.

17 June – Pithoea

Linnaeus entered the territory of Pithoea on June 13, beginning a period of exploration that would extend until the 21st. On the 17th, he recorded an entomological observation with batrachological overtones, which is transcribed here:

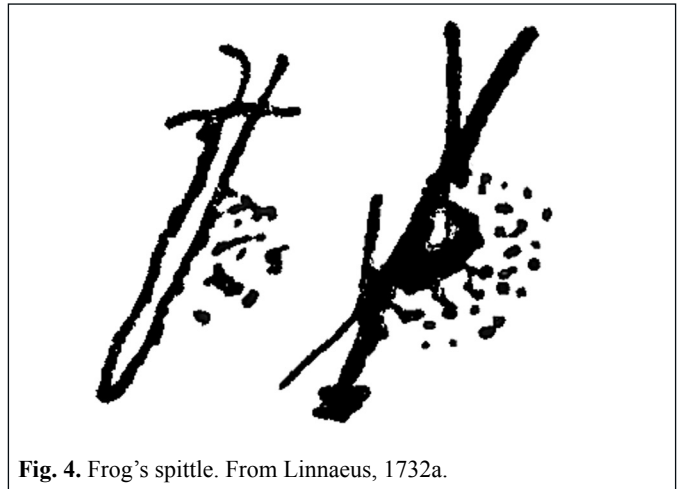


Fig. 4. Frog’s spittle. From Linnaeus, 1732a.

“...Although one walked diligently through the surroundings, there was nothing particularly noteworthy to observe, except that all over the grass there was something resembling saliva, which common folk call ‘frog’s spittle’. But when one wipes it away, there is only a small, brightly colored insect, like a tiny grasshopper, though still immature—a clear sign that it will indeed become such an insect, though for now it cannot yet leap. I wiped off the liquid and left the little creature where it was. An hour later, when I returned to the spot, there was once again a swollen foam just like before, a sign that it comes from the same insect, which blows (forms) it and thus protects itself from the intense heat of the sun, which would otherwise quickly dry out its delicate body...”

Here, Linnaeus precisely describes a common phenomenon in boreal meadows: a foamy substance on the grasses, popularly known as “frog’s spittle”³⁵ (Fig. 4), but which he correctly identifies as the secretion of an insect. Although this is a scientific correction, the persistence of the name reveals the symbolic place frogs occupy in popular culture: they are associated with moisture, viscosity, and marginality. The frog, as a symbolic form, exceeds its zoological status and becomes a cultural category.

FINAL WORDS

The *Iter Lapponicum* is both a crucial source for the history of biology and a dense cultural document, in which the few herpetological references reveal the tensions between empiricism, myth, and the perception of the Other in eighteenth-century science. Beyond their anecdotal value, the mentions of toads, frogs, lizards, and snakes allow us to trace the symbolic construction of cold-blooded animals in modern naturalist thought. In Linnaeus’s narrative, these animals are not mere objects of observation, but symbolic operators

that condense desire, fear, alterity, and fascination: the frog as sexual threat and exotified skin; the toad as an emblem of deviant desire; the snake as rumor and metaphor for uncertain knowledge.

Even though Linnaeus did not encounter them on his journey³⁶, their symbolic presence deeply marked the expedition, shaping his perception of the landscape, of bodies, of the beautiful and the monstrous. This essay has sought to show that herpetology is not confined to taxonomy, but also plays out in the ways these creatures inform and transform our gaze. In Linnaeus, that gaze is still a kaleidoscope: scientific and poetic, misogynistic and enchanted, colonial and inquisitive. And at the intersection of these discourses, amphibians and reptiles shine as creatures of the threshold: wet, ambiguous, necessary.

NOTES

- ¹ Linnaeus's ideas on how to assemble a collection of natural history objects were synthesized in Hultman's thesis (1753; 1756), while those related to travel preparation and data collection were presented in Nordblad's (1759; 1760).
- ² The most extreme case is the travel diary of Daniel Rolander's journey to Surinam, first published (in an English translation) only in 2008 (Rolander, 2008).
- ³ This section does not include Linnaeus's travels between 1735 and 1738 to the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, France, and England, undertaken to further his professional training.
- ⁴ Now divided between the provinces of Västra Götaland and Jönköping.
- ⁵ However, many of the experiences from this journey had already been incorporated into Linnaeus's *Flora Lapponica* (1737), a work that appears to have been read with interest and may have strongly influenced Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who perhaps drew some of his ideas about the noble savage from Linnaeus's portrayals of the Sámi (Thomas Malm, pers. comm.).
- ⁶ *Iter ad fodinas & officinas metallicas Westmanniae & Dalecarlia* (Journey to the mines and metalworks of Västmanland and Dalarna).
- ⁷ Sweden adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1753, skipping from 17 February to 1 March, thereby eliminating the 11-day discrepancy with the Julian calendar (Wahlgren, 2012).
- ⁸ See the letter dated on 26 December 1731, addressed to the Kungliga Vetenskaps-Societeten i Uppsala (L0010; alvin-record: 222484). As noted there, Linnaeus's weaknesses were drawing and mineralogy.
- ⁹ "... Jag vågade äfven då utsätta, med huru ringa summa jag denna resa trodde mig absolvera; nemligen med 600 dlr kmt, hvilket dock vore ej för mycket. Men såsom staten måste indragas så noga, han någonsin kan, kan man klarligen finna, att hvarken jag eller någon annan den samma resan med frukt kan anställa under 450 eller aldra minst 400 dlr kmt...". L0014 en linnaeus.c18.net.
- ¹⁰ "...Jag skall ock söka på det aldra accurataste sätt att vara här vid på penningar sparsam och tror mig kunna komma ut med 600 dir kopparmynt på en sommar med resan bort och tillbaka...". L0010 en linnaeus.c18.net.
- ¹¹ L0018 - The Linnaean correspondence, linnaeus.c18.net; transcribed in Fries (1907).
- ¹² The original map of Linnaeus's journey through northern Scandinavia can be seen at: https://linnean.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_92cab85a-7eb3-48b5-8886-55827efd06da/
- ¹³ Aln, pl. alnar, an old Swedish unit of measurement, approximately equal to 59.4 cm. Equivalent to the English ell.
- ¹⁴ "Lake Enara," as mentioned in historical and literary texts, refers to present-day Lake Inari (Inarijärvi), located in northern Finland near the Norwegian border.
- ¹⁵ Likely alluding to the giant serpents mentioned in Book XXI of Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, published during his exile in Rome in 1555.
- ¹⁶ In Latin (*Tunica eorum exterior*) in the original.
- ¹⁷ *Medium epichondri* in the original.
- ¹⁸ *Cart. ensiformen* in the original.
- ¹⁹ The Furies—Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megaera—are the personifications of vengeance in Greco-Roman mythology. Precise attribution is impossible, as they appear in numerous classical authors, though the reference was likely inspired by Ovid or Virgil, two of Linnaeus's favorite poets.
- ²⁰ Styx, the river or lagoon of hatred, separated Earth from the underworld.
- ²¹ It should be mentioned that the Sami are the indigenous people of Sápmi, a region spanning across the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The old word for this people, *Lapps*, is not considered politically correct anymore, but was used at Linnaeus time. The name of the people is usually written Sami, and their region Sápmi. (Thomas Malm, pers. comm.).
- ²² On the exoticization and animalization of indigenous peoples in Enlightenment travel narratives, see Pratt (1992).
- ²³ "...Jag skall ock söka på det aldra accurataste sätt att vara här vid på penningar sparsam och tror mig kunna komma ut med 600 dir kopparmynt på en sommar med resan bort och tillbaka...". L0010 en linnaeus.c18.net.
- ²⁴ Buxbaum (1728).
- ²⁵ *Erica palustris*, drooping, with a purple petiole.
- ²⁶ Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia, was chained to a rock as a sacrifice to sea monsters and saved by Perseus (e.g., March, 1998). The poet alluded to is likely Ovid, who recounts the myth in *Metamorphoses* IV, lines 665ff.
- ²⁷ *Capitula florum* in the original.
- ²⁸ *Capitula pallescunt magis magisque, hinc Andromeda dixi, foliis acutis* en el original.
- ²⁹ *Hinc, carneus* in the original. A curious detail arises here, as Ovid (*Heroides* XV:35–36) implies Andromeda was dark-skinned (Ovid, 1914). In the letter, Sappho writes to Phaon: "...candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo / Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae...", which can be translated as "...Though I am not fair, Andromeda of Cepheus—dark with her homeland's hue—pleased Perseus...".
- ³⁰ *Bränvin* in the original; apocope of bränt vin, "burned wine".
- ³¹ *Nuces vomicas* in the original.
- ³² *Cladonia rangiferina*.
- ³³ *Rangifer tarandus*.
- ³⁴ "Lemures" in the original; refers to the Lapland lemming, *Lemmus lemmus*.
- ³⁵ "grodspot" in the original.
- ³⁶ Elmberg (2023) notes that within the area covered by Linnaeus's expedition, there are five amphibian and four reptile species: *Lisotriton vulgaris*, *Triturus cristatus*, *Bufo bufo*, *Rana temporaria*, *Rana arvalis*, *Zootoca vivipara*, *Anguis fragilis*, *Natrix natrix*, and *Vipera berus*.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, I. 1956. *A history of Sweden. Translated from the Swedish by Carolyn Hannay*. Natur och kultur, Stockholm. i-xxvi, 461 pp.
- Blunt, W. 2001. *The compleat naturalist. A life of Linnaeus*. Frances Lincoln Ltd, London. 264 pp.
- Elmberg, J. 2023. Amphibians and Reptiles in North Sweden: Distribution, habitat affinities, and abundance. *Zootaxa* 5301(3):301–335.
- Fries, T. M. 1907. *Bref och Skrifvelser Carl von Linné. Första Afdelningen, Del. I. Skrifvelser till offentliga myndigheter och till Kungl. Vetenskapssocieteten i Upsala utgifna och med upplysande noter försedda*. Aktiebolaget Ijus, Stockholm. iii, 341 pp., [1].
- Gourlie, N. 1953, *The Prince of botanists, Carl Linnaeus*. H. F. & G. Witherby, Ltd, London. Xiii, 291 p., [1].
- Hansen, L. (Chief editor), Eivor Cormack, Ragnar Edberg, Per Sörbom & Viveka Hansen. 2007–2012. *The Linnaeus Apostles: global science & adventure*. 8 volumes in 11 tomes. IK Foundation & Company, London & Whitby.
- Hodacs, H. 2023. Substituting Coffee and Tea in the Eighteenth Century: A Rural and Material History with Global Implications. *Journal of Global History* 18:3, 461–480.
- Hultman, D. 1753. *Instructio musei rerum naturalium*. Laur. Magnus Höjer, Upsaliae. [3], 19 pp., [1].
- Hultman, D. 1756. *Instructio musei rerum naturalium. Amoenitates Academicæ*, 3:446–464.
- Koerner, L. 1999. *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 298 pp.
- Kouri, E.I. and J.E. Olsen (eds.). 2016. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia. Volume II. 1520–1870*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. xxxiv, 1152 pp.
- Linnaeus, C. 1732a. *Caroli Linnaei Iter Lapponicum Dei Gratia Institutum 1732. Sumptibus Regie Societatis Literariae et Scientiarum ad Historiam Naturalem Laponiae dilucidandam instructum, quoad lapides, terras, aquas, herbas, arbores, gramina, muscos, quadrupedia, aves, pisces, et insecta imo hominum morbos salutem dietam mores vivendique rationem*. Collection: Linnaean Manuscripts; Reference number: LM/LP/TRV/1/2/1. Linnaean Society, London.
- Linnaeus, C. 1732b. *Original cover to 'Iter Lapponicum'*. Collection: Linnaean Manuscripts; Reference number: LM/LP/TRV/1/2/2. Linnaean Society, London.
- Linnaeus, C. 1745. *Öländska och Gothländska resa på riksens högloflige ständers befallning förrättad år 1741. Med anmärkningar uti oeconomien, natural-historien, antiquiteter &c. med åtskillige figurer*. G. Kiesewetter, Stockholm. [13], 344 pp., [27], [2].
- Linnaeus, C. 1747. *Wästgöta-Resa, på riksens högloflige ständers befallning, förrättad år 1746. Med anmärkningar uti oeconomien, naturkunnigheten, antiquiteter, invånarnes seder och lefnads-sätt*. Lars Salvii, Stockholm. [11], 280 pp., [19], 6 plates.
- Linnaeus, C. 1751. *Skånska resa, på höga öfverhetens befallning förrättad år 1749. Med rön och anmärkningar uti oeconomien, naturalier, antiquiteter, seder, lefnads-sätt. Med tilhörige figurer*. Stockholm. Laurentii Salvii. [8], xiv, 1 map, 434 pp., [34].
- Linnaeus, C. 1811 [1732]. *Lachesis Lapponica, or Tour in Lapland, now first published from the original manuscript journal of the celebrated Linnaeus; by James Edward Smith ... In two volumes*. London. White and Cochrane. Xvi, 366 pp., 306 pp..
- Linnaeus, C. 1889 [1732]. *Iter Lapponicum Dei gratia institutum 1732*. Pp. 1–201 en E. Åhring (ed.) *Carl von Linnés ungdomsskrifter. Andra Serien*. Stockholm. P. A. Norstedt & Söners.
- Linnaeus, C. 2007. *The Dalarna Journey, together with Journey to the mines and works. Translated and edited by Andrey Casson*. Orebro, Sweden. Gulles Forlag, 320 pp.
- Magnus, O. 1555. *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis, & rebus mirabilibus, necnon vniuersis penè animalibus in Septentrione, degentibus eorumque natura. Opus ut varium, plurimarumque rerum cognitione refertum, atque cum exemplis externis, tum expressis rerum internarum picturis illustratum, ita delectatione iucunditateque plenum, maxima lectoris animum voluptate facile perfundens. (...) Cum indice locupletissimo*. Romae. S.N. [92], 815 pp.
- March, J. 1998. *Cassell's Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. London. Casell & Co. 831 pp.
- Müller-Wille, S. & I., Charmantier. 2012. *Natural history and information overload: The case of Linnaeus*. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 43 (1):4–15.
- Müller-Wille, S. 2003. *Nature as a Marketplace: The Political Economy of Linnaean Botany*. *History of Political Economy*, 35 (5):155–173.
- Nordblad, E. A. 1759. *Instructio Peregrinatoris*. Upsaliae. S. n. [3], 15 pp.
- Nordblad, E. A. 1760. *Instructio Peregrinatoris. Amoenitates Academicæ*, 5:298–313.
- Ovid. 1914. *Heroides and Amores. With an English translation by Grant Showerman. The Loeb Classical Library*. London: William Hkinemann. New York: The Macmillan Co. 524 pp.
- Posthous, J. 1563. *Iohan. Posthii Germersheimii Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metam. lib. XV. quibus accesserunt Vergilij Solis figurae elegantiss. & iam primum in lucem editae = Schoene Figuren auss dem fuertrefflichen Poeten Ouidio, allen Malern, Goldschmidten, und Bildthauern, zu nutz unnd gütem mit fleiss gerissen durch Vergilium Solis, und mit teutschen Reimen kürztlich erkläret, dergleichen vormal im Truck nie; aussgangen durch Johan. Posthium von Germerssheim*. Francofurti. Georgium Coruinum, Sigismundum Feyrabent, & haeredes VVigandi Galli. [16], 178 pp., [14].
- Pratt, M.L. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London. Routledge. [9], xii, 257 pp.
- Roberts, M. 1986. *The Age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772*. Cambridge, UK. Cambridge University Press, x, 223 pp.
- Rolander, D. 2008. *Daniel Rolander's Journal*. Sewden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Suriname, St. Kitts & Nevis. Translated from the Latin by James Dobreff, Claes Dahlman, David Morgan and Joseph Tipton. Pp. 1217–1576, en Lars Hansen (editor-in-chief), *The Linnaeus Apostles - Global Science & Adventure. Volume three, book three*. London & Whitby. The IK Foundation & Co.
- Tournes, I. de. 1557. *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*. Lyon. J. de Tournes. 176 pp.
- Wahlgren, R. 2012. *Carl Linnaeus and the amphibia*. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 9(1–2):5–38.

We suggest the following format for citing this article:

Lavilla, E. O. 2025. Science, Myth, and Otherness: Herpetological Readings of Linnaeus's Lapland Journal. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica* 19(9):116–121.